MOJAHEDIN'S STANDPOINTS

(6)

THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S MOJAHEDIN ORGANIZATION OF IRAN

PMOI

1965-1971

Vol. One

ARTICLES FROM: " MOJAHED , " THE ORGAN OF THE

PEOPLE'S MOJAHEDIN ORGANIZATION OF IRAN

THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S MOJAHEDIN ORGANIZATION OF IRAN (P.M.O.I.)

Articles from: "MOJAHED," the Organ of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran

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PREFACE

In the Name of God
and
in the Name of the Heroic People of Iran

The present publication is one of a series of publications, collected and distributed by us, representing the revolutionary outlook of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran on various theoretical issues. Representative of only a portion of Mojahedin's points of view, these publications are a symbol of a vital revolutionary struggle, as well as the outcome of a Towhidi movement which has been set in motion since 1965 and has brought about the most fascinating and incredible transformation in the contemporary Iranian history. Hence, in order to introduce and transmit a portion of the instructions and stances of the Mojahedin-e-Khalq of Iran, we present this publication to all seekers of truth and to all progressive forces, movements and individuals around the world.

MOSLEM STUDENTS SOCIETY (U.S.A.)

Introduction

"کلمه طیبه کشجره طیبه اصلها ثابت و فرعها فی السماء ، توتی اکلها کل حین باذن ربها"

The current and kinesis of development and evolution, is like a sound and virtuous tree, a tree with its roots planted firm in the ground and its leaves and branches reaching into the sky (the direction from which it receives its potential for growth and causes its leaves and branches to sprout and grow). A process, like such a tree, yields its fruits, its positive evolutionary effects (by God's command) all the more productively and draws strength from that primal and immortal source.

(Ebraahim [Abraham], 24-25).

The present pamphlet presents a brief history of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), covering the years 1965-1971, the dark years of dictatorship, when outward calm provided a deceptive cover for a reign of terror the like of which has been rarely recorded in the annals of history, where night of tyranny nearly snuffed out the flickering flame of freedom. Yet that tiny spark which remained, glimmered on, then burned slowly brighter, finally fanning into a blaze, roaring with promise for a bright future, when the dismal pall of despotism would be banished at last.

The flame of which we speak was a movement which fired the hopes of a people yearning to grasp a torch to guide their struggle against the imperialism which had imposed dark despotism and its cruel repression on their nation. This movement was a process which epitomized the uncrushable will of our people in its battle with reaction, with authoritarianism and with injustice. This movement was a current which began as an eddy in the dark years of repression, finding its wellspring in the noblest children of our nation and was carried forward by those with pure hearts and the courage to make history.

It was a beacon in the heart of darkness and despair, flashing hope for all who suffered and were in pain.

It was a star which glowed in the pall of gloom. It was a cry in the wilderness which became a roar that launched a raging torrent, rushing forward and expanding into a flood of the masses of our people, fed in its onward flow by the blood of thousands upon thousands of martyrs, pledging their lives, until the inundation, under the unerring direction of Imam Khomeini, engulfed and swept away the puppet regime of the despotic Pahlavis.

This process continues to the present day, merging into the mainstream and carrying the current of our people's struggle into the new dimension of an awesome historical responsibility of pushing forward the battle against imperialism.

This movement began thirteen years ago, spurred by the mission to come to grips with imperialism and the tyranny and foreign domination which it brought to our country, and to struggle to bring

about a Towhidi (Divinely integrated) classless society, a society with total equity.

This current is a path which is long and hard, strait and narrow, a path which, by the immutable tradition inherent in the creation, is fraught with the traps and pitfalls of deceit and treachery, of conspiracy and assault, to wrest the true Islam out from the grasp of class interest and willful distortion accumulated over the centuries, to forge it into a keen blade for wielding by the abased and oppressed people to bring about what was promised by the Prophetic Messenger of Towhid (Divine integration).

This movement is a *kinesis*, a current of change, which has been directed by the commitment in blood sacrifice of the truest-hearted and bravest of our sons and daughters, the likes of Mohammad Hanif-nezhad, Sa'id Mohsen, Aliasghar Badi'zadegan and the Reza'i brothers and sister – who gave their lives in proving the authenticity and purity of this movement.

It is evident that a survey and analysis of the kinetic process of the PMOI which these martyred heroes founded and developed, is in order, that this segment of the history of our nation's struggles be made known. It is particularly vital that the details of this critical period of trial, with its rigorous testing of human virtue and courage be recorded and a proper study of the founding of our organization and the shaping of its role in the struggle be made available to the public.

However, because of the urgency of the matter and the unstemmed flow of requests from friends and supporters and from the general public, we have found it necessary to move quickly and bring out a brief and summary sketch of what should be given a treatment in far greater depth, in order to make a partial effort at filling the gap and meeting the demand. The thoroughly researched history must wait for more propitious times, providing respite for such a study. Certain segments of the organization's history are, in fact, already available, For the events of the years 1973-75, we refer you to the brochure entitled *A Critical Analysis of the Pseudo-Leftist Opportunists* (referring to the blow which the element dealt the organization in those years), while a brief treatment of the preceding two years (when the founding cadre was decimated by the incursions of SAVAK, the Pahlavi secret police) will be forthcoming.

It is our sincere hope that, by presenting the achievements so dearly bought in the struggles of our people, we can help to preserve and to enrich the precious inheritance of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI).

"يثبت الله الذين امنوا بالقول الثابت
في الحيوه الدنيا والا خره ويضل الله الظالمين"

God confirms those who believe on the path of the Truth with firm words and a firm standpoint and strengthens them, while leading the oppressors (in the effects of their deeds) astray (annihilating them on the way of evolution).

(Ebraahim (Abraham), 27).

Tir 1358 (July 1979)

In the Name of God
and
in the Name of the Heroic People of Iran

CHAPTER I

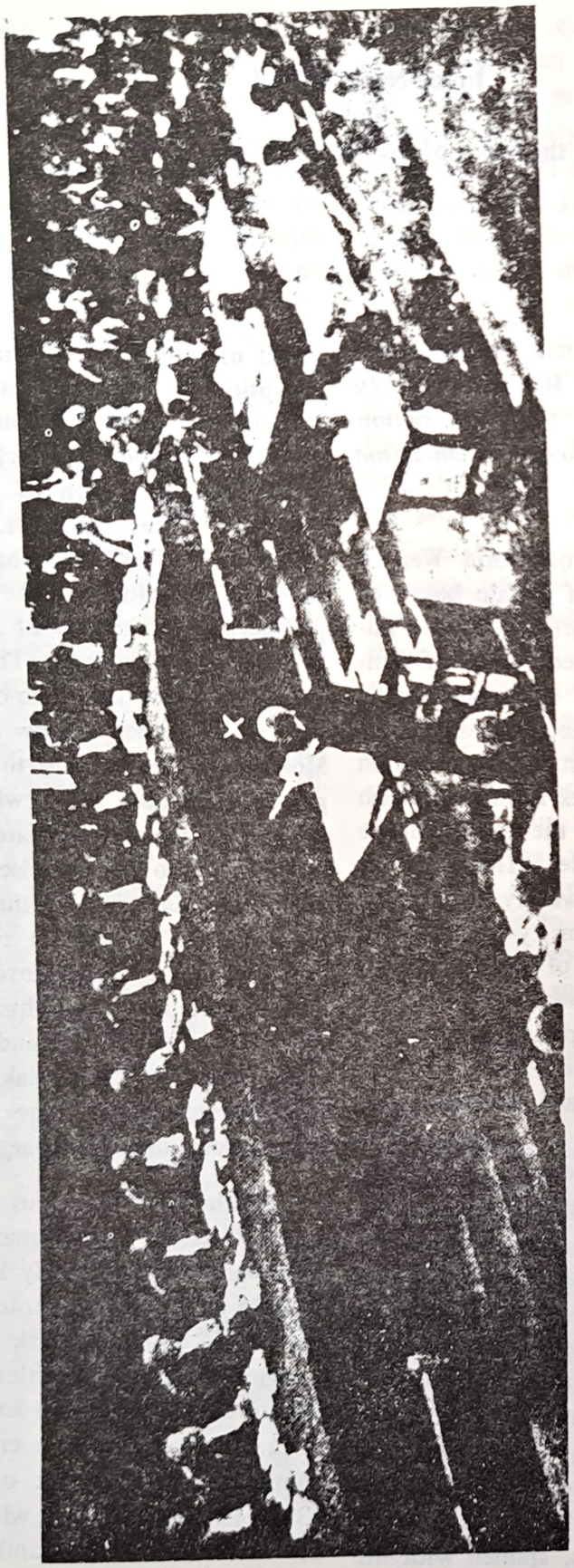
A summary of the social developments after the coup of 28 Mordad 1332 (19 August 1953) and up to the formation of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (1965)

With the close of World War II, the colonial empire of Britain began to decline around the world, while the imperialism of the United States of America correspondingly rose, wearing a politically deceptive face, ostensibly supporting the nationalist regimes (which were freeing themselves from the British yoke) and defending the independence and rights of the peoples. The U.S. even went so far as to outwardly call for the independence of nations, yet as the real inheritor of the legacy of the old colonial powers, its true role was to take up the banner of world imperialism in their place on the stage of the world.

As the colonialized countries, one after another, began to achieve their independence, after decades, and many after centuries, of slavery and bloody struggle, they found themselves falling inexorably into the trap set by this new world-devouring foe – an enemy which, initially, seemed to support the ideals of independence, by appearing to remove its veteran colonialist competitors from the scene, but, in reality, supplanted the direct rule of its predecessors with a shadowy new form of indirect control.

Our own nation, stained with the blood of long years of struggle, was no exception to this penetration by neo-colonialism. The anti-colonialist struggles of our people had reached a peaking in the nationalization of Iran's oil industry by the late Dr. Mohammad Mosaddeq. This could have been the point of departure for the anti-popular, plundering domination of American imperialism over our land. The Americans, consistent with their neo-colonialist policy, at first made a show of supporting Mosaddeq's opposition to the British presence in Iran. But when they realized that the Iranian statesman was no more ready to compromise his stand to suit their point of view either, manifested in Mosaddeq's stubborn resistance, his political acumen and, above all, his deep love for his people and his country, the U.S. did an about-face and allied themselves with the British, taking a healthy forty percent lion's share of the petroleum consortium in the bargain.

With all their pious pretenses of loving freedom and human rights, the Americans acted precisely in the reverse of their assertions by thrusting the Iranian people into the dark repression of a regime which was destined to sap the vitality of the nation for another quarter of a century. They engineered the humiliating coup d'etat of 28 Mordad 1332 (19 August 1953), which reinstated the forces of reaction and the dictator-



Mosaddeq defends the rights of the Iranian nation before the World Court at The Hague.

ship of the traitor shah, just as he was on the point of being expunged from our nation's political scene for good.

The revived force of dictatorship and reaction was able to bring down the popular government of Mosaddeq and throw the great leader into prison in punishment for his crimes of anti-dictatorship and anti-imperialist struggle, his refusal to betray his nation, and his defense of the honor and the liberty of the Iranian people.

The fall of Mosaddeq meant the death of freedom and independence for the people of Iran and provided an easy road on which the Americans could march in to seize the reins of imperial control. Even though the old-school British imperialism had played the dominant role in Iran up to that time, the Americans gradually strengthened their grip on the country after the coup, by penetrating the body politic and the organs of government.

In the social and economic areas, British imperialism, in its death throes, had been concerned primarily with preserving the existing traditional society, which was built on the basis of feudal relationships and the joint rule of the landlord and bourgeois classes. Since British imperialist economics depended mainly on the export of manufactured products, the focus was on plundering the natural resources, notably petroleum. In contrast, because of its dependence on export of capital, American imperialism concerned itself with a complete restructuring of the traditional society (the traditional bourgeois-landlord system), re-shaping it in its own dependent bourgeois image.

The weakening and decline of British imperialism on the world scene in the late fifties, along with the corresponding rise of the American variety (due to the effect of World War II, which brought rapid growth to the U.S., while breaking the British economy), added to the special conditions which obtained in Iran – the latter's strategic geo-political position and its potential as a consumer for the American production machine – provided the elements creating the need for performing the foregoing fundamental transformation more than ever before.

The strategic nature of Iran's geo-political position derived from its pivotal location in the key Gulf region, its vast treasury of petroleum reserves eminently capable of supplying world capitalism, and its situation on the border of America's international rival, the Soviet Union. Here, of course, the slightest revolutionary development could change the world balance of power. The kind of poverty, under-development and corruption which constituted feudal relationships would have made the advent of revolution unavoidable, if some kind of reform were not brought about in our society. Such a reform was envisioned to, at least temporarily, reduce the potential for revolution to occur and serve to brake the inevitable downward slide of the regime which imperialism planted in Iran to serve its interests and prevent our country from slipping out of the circle of imperialist satellites.

Furthermore, the giant production output of the U.S., reaching the final stage of its imperialist growth, required the export of capital to other countries. Iran's feudal system, where the majority of the people were confined in a closed economy, enjoying a state of self-sufficiency, provided conditions which were unfavorable for the development of a comprador bourgeoisie. As a result, the

Americans deemed it necessary to launch a land reform – of their own style, of course, with an anti-popular, imperialist content – in order to prepare the ground for the attraction of foreign capital and, consequently, bring Iran into the sphere of economic dependence in the bourgeois context.

It is common knowledge that this bogus land reform program did nothing more than to dispossess hordes of peasants, who were forced to abandon the land and flock into the cities to seek jobs in the factories of the newly established comprador enterprises, providing cheap and plentiful manpower for the dependent industries.

At the same time, the consumer economy based on commodity relations penetrated to the remotest rural districts of our nation, while providing a market and source of plunder for the growing bourgeoisie, dependent on its foreign masters.

These were the fundamental political and economic reasons which caused America to involve itself in Iran, distinguishing its brand of imperialism from that of Britain principally by its policy of a pseudo-land reform which was, in fact, intended to have the opposite effect of that which is normally intended by such a program: militating against the development of popular initiative and serving dependent imperialist interests.

Interestingly enough, since America's programs did not sit particularly well with Britain and its interests, the latter, despite its earlier compromise on the matter of petroleum, in particular, and with respect to the direction of the affairs of Iran, in principle, through its complicity in the 1953 coup, the contradictions between the two imperialist nations began to become increasingly pronounced as a result of America's new reformist line, with its implications for the British mode of economic approach.

With the expansion, through both political and economic means, of American influence after the coup, the poverty and general discontent among the masses was aggravated, providing still further excuse for the Americans to conduct what they delicately called 'research projects', enabling them to generate a kind of 'constructive propaganda' to promote their own interests. The two-pronged effect of these programs was to provide a vehicle for political research, even espionage, while, at the same time, giving grounds for a propaganda effort against the (at that time, British-tending) regime, exposing its corruption as a seedbed ripe for revolutionary 'explosion', in order to be able to to push forward its political and social reform program.

However, the American propaganda campaign was nothing more than a subterfuge for preparing the ground to justify the reforms which would be made in the U.S. interest; these efforts were blocked by the Iranian regime and its British master. Thus, the Americans ultimately decided to turn their campaign against the regime itself, using the ploy of pretending to defend the cause of freedom! Their aim was, of course, to appeal to the nationalistic forces, not simply in order to enlist their aid in supporting the reform program, but also to use the nationalists to secure their future economic base, i.e. the Iranian bourgeoisie.

The weakness of the regime's prime supporter, British imperialism, and the political propaganda campaign conducted by the Americans, along with pressure applied by the latter to weaken the foundations of the dictatorship, caused the shah to adopt a defensive stance. Thus, the regime turned to maneuvering through a series of anti-dynamic programs which had no practical value except to combat the propaganda and pressure policy of the Americans. Such measures included a law theoretically requiring high officials to reveal their assets, ostensibly to 'fight corruption', and a bogus land reform law introduced by Manuchehr Eqbal as prime minister at the time (appointed April 1957). The latter was, in fact, the first land reform measure officially presented by the Iranian regime on its own – of course, purely as a counter-measure, as a sop to the Americans in an effort to offset the pressure they were applying, something by no means in tune with the American concept.

Because these window-dressing measures did not fit in with the U.S. economic and strategic scheme, the Americans moved to trigger a coup led by the Iranian general Valiollah Qarani, which aborted. (Qarani reappeared on the Iranian political scene when he was appointed chief of staff after the February 1979 uprising by the government of Eng. Bazargan). The move was designed, in fact, more to provide a warning to the Iranian regime and its British patron that the Americans were determined to carry out their reform program.

With the weakening of the power of the dictatorship and the development of division amongst its elements, the opportunity for more open activity on the part of the popular forces emerged, providing still further cause for the regime's increasing impotency. Cabinets were created and fell in rapid succession, until eventually the shah was forced to accept a government formed by the American-supported Ali Amini, an indication of the state to which the regime had fallen.

Coincident with these developments, with the opening up of the political atmosphere, the Second National Front was formed in adopting a fresh approach over its predecessor (the remnant of Mosaddeq's original organization). The Front's activities gained greater momentum, as the atmosphere became more and more relaxed at the time of Amini's coming to power.

In 1961, largely due to the positions taken by the new Front, a number of popular-cause individuals, including some of Mosaddeq's original colleagues, banded together to form the Freedom Movement. Attracted by the new organization's vigorous anti-imperialist and monarchical positions, motivated young people joined its ranks.

Since its inception, the mode of operation of the Freedom Movement was oriented more towards simply disseminating its ideas, its political lines of approach, within the society. However, the younger, more spirited adherents to the the Movement were not content with a merely verbal approach, urging the leadership to take a more activist tack by forming and training cadres to conduct revolutionary activity. Naturally, the comprehensive educational task of developing cadres requires organizational experience, the science of organization and mastery of the methods of struggle, in short, an activation of the science of struggle. Although the Freedom Move-

ment never went into this line of action, it did render an important service towards stimulating the consciousness of the younger generation.

It is just at this time that John F. Kennedy and the Democratic Party came to power in the United States, an event which ushered in an era when American imperialism began a serious pursuit of its outwardly reformist but inwardly counter-revolutionary program, not just in Iran, but throughout the world. In Latin America, it took the form of the so-called 'Alliance for Progress', while in other parts of the world, such as Turkey, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, it was expressed as a 'clean-up reform', designed to make reactionary regimes more palatable.

As a result of this policy, the traitor shah became subjected to more pressure than ever before, aggravated by his contradiction with Amini (as prime minister). Thus, he had no alternative but to save his neck by expressing willingness to cooperate with the reform approach of Amini's boss.

He decided to take the reins in his own hands and, so set out on a forty-day trip to the U.S., where he busied himself with making influential contacts, making himself known to various imperialist circles and working especially to win the favor of the ruling element, by insisting that he was the most capable individual to carry out the American reform policy in Iran, as well as being the best guarantee of Iran's staying securely within the circle of imperialist satellites. His arguments were strengthened by the fact that Amini had proven ineffectual in attempting to execute the American programs, so the Americans were convinced.

Thus, the shah managed a historical about-face, by switching from the British to the American team and taking upon himself the priority item of implementing the land reform, American-style, whereby it was he who succeeded in imposing on our nation a comprador bourgeoisie with all its military, political, cultural and social implications. The shah turned to resolving the contradiction existing within the ruling bourgeois-landlord structure by elevating the comprador bourgeoisie while tilting the Anglo-American influence contradiction in favor of the U.S. By achieving a relative unity within the ruling class, the shah, thus, gained a relatively firm class base in the bargain.

Crowned with success from his American trip, the shah returned to Iran fully armed to lock horns with the destiny of the Iranian people, by attempting to wipe out the domestic opposition – and suppress the people in the process. Thus, he embarked on his program of devising the machinery to do the crushing.

The shah's first step was to remove Amini and appoint Asadollah Alam in his place (July 1962). Since Alam was one of Iran's biggest feudal landowners, this move served as a tactic to allay the fears of the landlords that the expropriation would mean a major loss of wealth for them, since the plan was to transform landed wealth into capital holdings centered in the cities, thus, reducing the bulk of feudal resistance to the plan.

The next move made by the shah was to develop divisions in the ranks of the forces of opposition, in order to effectively splinter them. One of his maneuvers to implement this was to devise provincial societies which made profit out of women's suffrage.

This move was undertaken because

the regime was fully conscious of the fact that certain elements lacking the proper understanding of the issues, would launch an opposition campaign against the plan – those who had defended the interests of the feudal lords with their exploitation of the peasants. The matter of women's suffrage was naturally a part of the content of the program of all the aware forces in the struggle, as well as the expropriation of feudally held land and its division among the peasants – but in its true revolutionary and anti-imperialist substance. When such opposition was carried out in the name of Islam, religion itself was labeled reactionary, with a resultant turning of the intellectuals away from it.

Yet this was not the worst of the effects resulting from the link between reaction and the name of religion. This association further gave the anti-popular and reactionary regime of the shah the opportunity to present itself as 'progressive', 'freedom-loving' and a supporter of the peasants on the international scene, while being able to label his opponents as 'old-fashioned', 'reactionary' and opposed to political and social reform.

This gave the shah a free hand to move and crush his opposition. The dictator was, in fact, so clever in his maneuvering that, upon eliminating the opposition, he was able to shrewdly withdraw the women's suffrage plan, while placing the blame for the denial of women's rights neatly on the heads of a few religious leaders. This ruse aggravated distrust of the clergy, particularly the right wing element, by the intellectuals, already disaffected by the incorrect position-taking of the clergy at the time of Mosaddeq, when a number of clergymen, including one of the most influential of the time, adopted an opposition stance against the nationalist, anti-colonialist movement of Iran and its statesman leader, the late Dr. Mohammad Mosaddeq, so strong that it led right to compromise with the court of the shah. Memory of this approach helped widen the rift between the intellectuals and the clergy all the more.

We must remember that, all this time, the aware, nationalist forces, despite their shortcomings, did perform considerable constructive services, such as introducing the appropriate slogan, "Land reform, yes; dictatorship, no ", which deprived the shah's regime of an important political propaganda tool, at least. Even some of the clergy played an important role in the opposition, particularly the more activist elements, and were conscious of the anti-popular essence of the shah's maneuvers, thereby being able to adopt correct positions with respect to these moves.

As a result, the regime's policy of developing strife and divisiveness amongst the opposition did not survive for long. The shah made a serious political and military mistake on 21 January 1963 by making simultaneous savage attacks on the University of Tehran and on Qom's Feizieh Theological Seminary, allowing intellectual and clerical elements to seek ties again against the common foe. The constructive role of a number of important religious figures may be cited, notably that of Ayatollah Seyyed Mahmud Taleqani, as well as the efforts of the Freedom Movement towards developing unity between the intellectuals and the progressive clergy, which helped to isolate the regime from the urban masses.

However, it was too soon for the

peasants to become conscious of the so-called 'Shah and People Revolution', while the time of the toilers was not yet at hand, to end this grand illusion; therefore, the regime, despite its isolation from the urban masses, could at least for a while be secure from internal upheaval by this great force. Under these conditions, the treacherous referendum of 26 January 1963 (introducing the so-called 'White Revolution') was carried out. The night before the voting was to take place, the leaders of the National Front and the Freedom Movement were rounded up and put in detainment, in order to avoid opposition to the operation of the rigged referendum.

The referendum marked a series of changes that tightened both the regime's position and the grip of American imperialism. A wave of protest arose, culminating in the 15 Khordad 1342 (5 June 1963) uprising, launched under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini, inspired as a matter of natural course by the anti-popular content of the regime's programs. The uprising was savagely crushed. (The history of this episode is the subject of a forthcoming pamphlet being brought out in English by the PMOI).

In the history of our people's struggles, 15 Khordad bears a very special importance, for it reflects the turning point in the struggles. It was at this point that it was made demonstrably clear that the old struggle methods could no longer be applied against this regime and its imperialist supporters. The martyrs who shed their blood on that day, a brave but vain stand before the machinegun fire of the regime, scrawled these words on the ground:
"Without weapons we cannot fight!"

Faced with the ruthless brutality with which the popular protest had been crushed, it was clear that the old way was out, for the ruling power had established that no open political activity could be carried on, **the struggle had run up against an implacable steel wall; only new methods of struggle could break through this new obstacle.**

The glorious triumph of the Algerian people over French colonialism after seven years of struggle with the sacrifice of over a million victims and the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam against American imperialism constituted inspirations towards the adoption of new methods, in other words – **armed struggle.**

The question burning in the minds of the conscious and responsible elements dealing with these conditions was this:

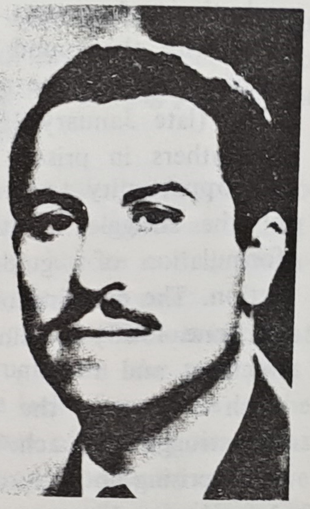
When the struggles against imperialism of so many peoples around the world have ended in victory, or at least come close to the final triumph, how is it that our country, with all its striving and struggle, is still caught in the thrall of imperialism and reaction? Why is it that, at every stage of the struggle and precisely on the eve of victory and the dawn of freedom, our struggles are diverted and led into deviation? What are the fundamental reasons for our defeats of the past?

CHAPTER II

The Formation of THE PEOPLE'S MOJAHEDIN ORGANIZATION OF IRAN

Ali-Asghar Badi'zadegan, martyred co-founder

Mohammad Hanif-nezhad, martyred co-founder



Sa'id Mohsen, martyred co-founder

1) A Word about the Founders

As with all the other aware and responsible elements in the society, the founders of the PMOI followed up their active role in the political struggles of the years 1960 to 1963 with a deep reappraisal of the root-causes for the setbacks and deficiencies of the past.

Mohammad Hanif-nezhaad began his socio-political activities when he was a high-school student in Tabriz through participation in religiously-oriented circles. He was among the leading political figures at the Karaj Institute of Agronomy. A tireless and devoted researcher, he developed familiarity with contemporary progressive thinking, with a particular attention to ideological questions. To this activity, he added a profound study of the Islamic ideology with which he was already well familiar. A student organization was formed at the institute in which he took part. Then when the

Freedom Movement got underway, he joined in its activity, in the course of which he met highly motivated young spirits like Sa'id Mohsen, sincerely committed to the struggle.

This zealous young group once wrote a letter to the leaders of the Movement, laying out their views concerning the need for organizing and structuring the effort, with the provision of political and ideological training of cadres and the conscious selection of the appropriate approaches to struggle, and other such matters.

With the round up of political activists early in the month of Bahman 1341 (late January 1963), they joined the others in prison, where they had the opportunity to give a full appraisal of the struggles of the past and the formulation of guidelines for future action. The crushing of the 15 Khordad (5 June 1963) uprising proved the correctness and realism of their judgment with respect to the transformation of the struggle approach. The suppression of the uprising not only did not make them lose hope, but, on the contrary, strengthened their faith and resolve towards developing an approach that would offset the deficiences of the past and pull the struggle out of the doldrums.

The shah's dependent regime combined the blows it was dealing, with a massive propaganda campaign, designed to project an image of invincibility and inject pessimism and despair amongst the masses of the people. As gloomy as the future looked at this time, Mohammad and Sa'id, undaunted, went ahead and pursued a tireless effort enriched by keen insight and a profound understanding, based on the Qoranic promise:

«اِنَّ اَلْباطِل كَانَ زَهُوقاً»
(Verily, falsehood must disappear.).

2) Assessment of the Struggle in the Past

Mohammad Hanif-nezhaad and Sa'id Mohsen were conscious of Ali's word in his first statement *(Nahjol-balaagha* after he had begun his rule as caliph, were he says:

«اِنَّ مَنْ صَرَّحَتْ لَهُ العِبَر عَمّا بَيْنَ يَدَيْه
مِنَ اَلْمُثُلاتْ حَجَزَتْهُ اَلتَّقْوى عَنْ تَقَحُّم اَلشُّبُهات
(Truly, one who has the experiences of his predecessors clearly set before him, is prevented by his virtue from stumbling and falling into the trap of doubt and uncertainty.)

Inspired by this counsel, they set about looking into the history of Iran beginning with the time of the struggle for the constitution (1906-07), and made an evaluation of the causes for the defeats of the struggle in the past, using whatever resources they had at hand.

They were perfectly conscious of the point that defeat can be the prelude to victory if it is taken as profitable experience, so as to forestall a repetition of this situation which led to the defeat in the first place in the course of the kinesis of the past, where, if correctly analyzed, proper guidelines can be derived, to avoid submission to further disabling blows. If this correct analysis is not made, it is obvious that even the successes which might result, can only be of a tactical and short-term nature. If one did not learn the fundamental reason for the earlier defeats, then one would only subject oneself to more crippling blows.

Taking this into account, throughout the course of the PMOI's kinetic process, the correct assessment of the kinesis of the past, allowed for the derivation of constructive guidelines for future kinesis, providing one of the most vital factors which have been the focus of the Organization's attentions. The development of this consciousness brought an active realization of the content the Qoranic *zekr* (Arabic *dhikr:* 'invoking and remembering') and its application in practice.

One of the most striking observations to be drawn from this investigation of the struggle in the past, from the Constitutional Movement up to the present, is the fact of the notable readiness which has been a characteristic of our heroic people at different times in the current of the struggle. There have been periods in the past of the struggle when our people, whenever they found a trustworthy and reliable leader, have not stinted from sacrificing their very blood, in bringing the reaction of the time to its knees.

This conclusion stands in stark contrast with the interpretation made by those who look upon past defeats as a matter of lack of preparedness on the part of the masses of the people to launch a coordinated action, to align themselves with the course of the struggle. Indeed, if the people were not prepared, how do we explain the readiness of people to eat clover instead of normal food during the constitutional fight or their unstinting readiness to give their blood for freedom? And how 'unready' were those people who gave every worldly possession of value, their jewelry and furnishings, when Mosaddeq appealed to the nation to provide the backing to float a national bond?

What 'unreadiness' was demonstrated when blood garnished the streets on 30 Tir 1331 (21 July 1952), the day when the people's will was manifested, triumphing over diabolical reaction, the day when Dr. Mosaddeq's leadership was confirmed by the people; or on 28 Mordaad 1332 (19 August 1953), when the American CIA engineered the coup which overthrew the great statesman's nationalist government; or 15 Khordaad 1342 (5 June 1963), the day when the shah's American army massacred the massed people protesting, bringing the turning point in the reformist struggles?

The founders of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran arrived at the following conclusions in their assessment of the struggle in the past:

a) The principal factors in defeats incurred in struggle in the past was patently not the lack of readiness on the part of the masses of the people; it was due to the absence of conducive subjective conditions — primarily, the lack of qualified leadership.

b) As the conditions for the struggle became more and more complex, the leadership did not demonstrate the ability to adapt to the complexity of the situation. (They felt that a contradiction had prevailed throughout and continued to be actively present — a contradiction between the ivory tower isolation of the intellectual and the [philosophically] aware element of the leadership, on the one hand, and the rapidly accelerating and ever more complicated political and social conditions, on the other.) Thus, the methods and modes of struggle have not been com-

patible with the social situation. In this respect, the founders determined that armed struggle was the necessary mode for this stage of the revolution.

c) The struggle in the past fundamentally lacked appropriate revolutionary organization.

d) Previously, the struggle – particularly, on the leadership level – has not been professional; in other words, the leadership has not devoted itself full-time to the struggle as its principal task.

e) The struggle has not been approached as a science with its own body of knowledge and methods; as a result, struggle in the past has not enjoyed precise strategy and policy.

f) The struggle in the past has not had an ideological orientation.

On the basis of this assessment, the Organization sets it own kinetic process in motion. Before we study the process of the PMOI kinesis, let us take a brief look at the distinguishing characteristics of the Organization itself – which, themselves, are the outcome of the foregoing assessment.

3) Outline of the distinguishing characteristics of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran

a) **Armed Struggle**

Throughout the history of its struggle, the people of our country have experimented with armed struggle. This was the case in the Constitutional Movement, as well as in the revolutionary Movement of the Forest, led by that glowing figure of the annals of the Iranian Revolution, Mirzaa Kuchak Khaan, whose fundamental approach involved tactical combat and which reached a point of success capable of attracting the attention of the masses, as well.

When the founders of the PMOI came to realize the need for this fundamental mode of struggle, they set about analyzing the theoretical dimensions of the issue, but with a new focus on the structuring of the armed struggle on the basis of a correct policy, or strategy, growing out of a realistic analysis of the prevailing social conditions. In the inception of their kinesis, after their researches and analysis, they came to the conclusion that, while, under the given conditions at the time, they did not have the merit, or qualifications, necessary for developing an overall strategy, they did have the capacity for acquiring the necessary qualifications.[1]

b) Emphasis on the necessity of revolutionary organization.

Through analysis of the revolutionary experiences of the past, the PMOI leaders drew the conclusion that conquest of the connivances of world imperialism, with all its anti-popular capability and experience, was not possible without a revolutionary organizational structure. In their view, such an organization should consist of elements, each of which possess the capability of stepping forward to preserve the foundation of the organization, if conditions require it. Only through such organization as this, can the struggle be maintained in practice, being relieved of the limitation of reliance on a single individual or core of individuals.

The later developments of the PMOI's kinesis came to prove the correctness of this viewpoint, for it was this very structural quality which brought the Organization through intact in periods of critical stress, when it was subjected to assaults which could have been fatal otherwise. (The very survival of the unified and harmonious structure through times of crisis is, in itself, a perfect indication of the organization's ideological purity and soundness.)

«وَلِيَبْتَلِيَ اللهُ، ما فِی صُدُورِكُم وَ لِيمُحِصَ ما فِی قُلُوبِكُم وَاللهُ عَلِيمٌ بِذاتِ الصُّدُورِ—

[All this has been] in order that God might try the substance of your beliefs and thoughts, and purify you. God is aware of what is hidden in the thoughts [of men]. [Aal-e 'Emraan (The Family of Imaran), 154]).

It is clear that the revolutionary organization must be founded on a set of principles which should be learned and put into application. The unity of the organization must be dynamic and deepseated, and not either a merely lip-service or mechanical one.

Strong intra-organizational ties are possible only through an underlying and deeply ingrained, ideologically unifying understanding. The organization should be composed of honest and faithful elements, whose entire concentration is on the ideological principles espoused, and for whom struggle is their way of life, adhering to this Qoranic counsel:

«قُلْ اِنْ كانَ اٰباؤُكُم وَ اَبْناؤُكُم و اِخْوانُكُم وَ اَزْواجُكُم و عَشيرَتُكُم وَ اَمْوالٌ اقْتَرَفْتُمُوها و تِجارَة تَخْشَوْنَ كَسادَها وَ مَساكِنُ تَرْضَوْنَها اَحَبَّ اِلَيْكُم مِنَ اللهِ وَ رَسُولِهِ وَ جِهادٍ فی سَبيلِهِ فَتَرَبَّصُوا حَتّی يَاْتِیَ اللهُ بِاَمْرِه. توبه ۲۴».

Say: If your family and the wealth you have accumulated and the merchandise you fear may not be sold and the dwellings to which you are attached are all dearer to you than God and His messenger and striving in His way, then wait until God brings His command to pass. [Al-Towbeh (Repentance), 24]

The organization should, furthermore, be composed of professional revolutionaries, who have acquired revolutionary qualities, iron discipline and a determination of steel. In the Battle of the Camel, Imam Ali gave his son Mohammad ibn Hanfiah the following

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1) The matter of merit, or qualifications, was one of the most vital points on which the PMOI concentrated its attention. This matter is, in itself, a clear indication of the Towhidi ('realistic') [in the sense of penetrating both 'reality' and 'Reality' in insight and 'realization'] comprehension of the founders. If this point is not properly understood, with all its implications, then incorrect position-taking and viewpoints may result. For example, the pseudo-leftist opportunists' blow shook the belief of elements who were not fully ideologically committed or had only a peripheral affiliation with the Organization, as well as many who had considered themselves to be full-fledged adherents to the paths of the Mojahedin →

yet who attempted to analyze the implications of the blow without paying due attention to the fundamental matter of merit, or qualifications, resulting in a veering to the right and consequent deviation from the fundamental viewpoints of the PMOI.

advice:

«تَزولُ الجِبالُ وَ لاتَزُلْ، اَعِرالله جُمجُمتَكَ، تِدْفِي الاَرضِ قَدمَكَ

(Let mountains move, but stir you not from where you stand; grit your teeth, commit your head to God, and keep your feet firm on the earth.)

These words were meant for all who have embraced the revolutionary way, with all its hardships and trials, as the way to the sought-after perfection, the "fervid tableau".[2]

«هذا ما وَعَدَنَاالله وَالرَسُولُ-

(These are the hardships that God and His messenger have foretold).

In the era of imperialist domination, it is only through reliance on such organization that the struggles of the people can be directed and carried forward to victory.

c) Ideological orientation of the struggle.

Today, for those who are familiar with the science of struggle, it is understood that theory is a guide to praxis and an inescapable essential for any revolutionary struggle, without which victory is impossible.

The founders of the PMOI, paying due attention to this vital point, noted the fact that struggle in the past had lacked theoretical guidance to its plan of action, and so decided to choose the ideology of Islam as the theory to guide their praxis in the complex matter of the anti-imperialist struggle.

On the basis of this, one of the earliest priorities met by the PMOI was the task of developing the ideology of Islam with the purging of the ethnocentric and class-oriented corrosion which had come to adhere to the religion. This was a particularly challenging responsibility, yet a glorious one, at that, for under conditions of repression when everything was poisoned by the ideology of the ruling class, it could be undertaken only by those who sought to advance towards the sole Governor of being with an unshakeable faith and a firm belief in the primacy of the Truth and the non-essentiality of falsehood, and who were unadunted by the hardships of the road ahead.

It must be remembered that at this time the outlook was very grim, indeed, To speak of such things seemed like daydreaming, for the future looked dark and dubious. Who would have imagined that such a kinesis, with all the difficulties it entailed, could hold the promise of such a bright development.

«اِنّ الاَرضَ يَرثُها عبادِىَ الصّالحُون-

(And, indeed, the power will be placed ultimately in the hand of the true progeny of the people and the authentic deputies of God on earth.)

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2) Expression quoted from an educational article which was written in the early days of the PMOI's activities.

SUPPLEMENT

Getting to Know the PMOI

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC and SOCIAL IDEOLOGICAL

CONTENT:

1) Our ideology is Islam, based on the Towhidi (Divinely integrated) world view, as the guide to leading the society to the complete obliteration of exploitation and the establishment of the Towhidi system, for this ideology, in any historical situation, rests on the most deprived (in Qoranic terms; the 'abased'), social classes and the most progressive forces which, under the present conditions of Iranian society, the workers and their allies, the peasants, are the proper representatives thereof.

The PMOI, believing in the total elimination of exploitation of man by man on all levels and in every dimension through the obliteration of class distinctions, will carry on its struggle until the Towhidi classless society is brought into being.

2) The PMOI, believing in the fundamentality of contradiction between the people and imperialism in the present period of history, began its struggle from its very inception by choosing the way of armed struggle and the policy of urban guerrilla combat, leading to the overthrow of the comprador and anti-popular Pahlavi regime, towards realizing the ideals of Towhid (Divine integration).

Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the PMOI has viewed it as necessary to step up the anti-imperialist struggle through unity of the different ranks of society by actively participating in the political and social arena.

The PMOI has consistently pioneered in the move to form a front comprising all principled, anti-imperialist forces, as well as maintaining as its slogan the full-fledged support of all revolutionary and liberation organizations beyond the frontiers of Iran, towards the effectuation of a solid anti-imperialist front.

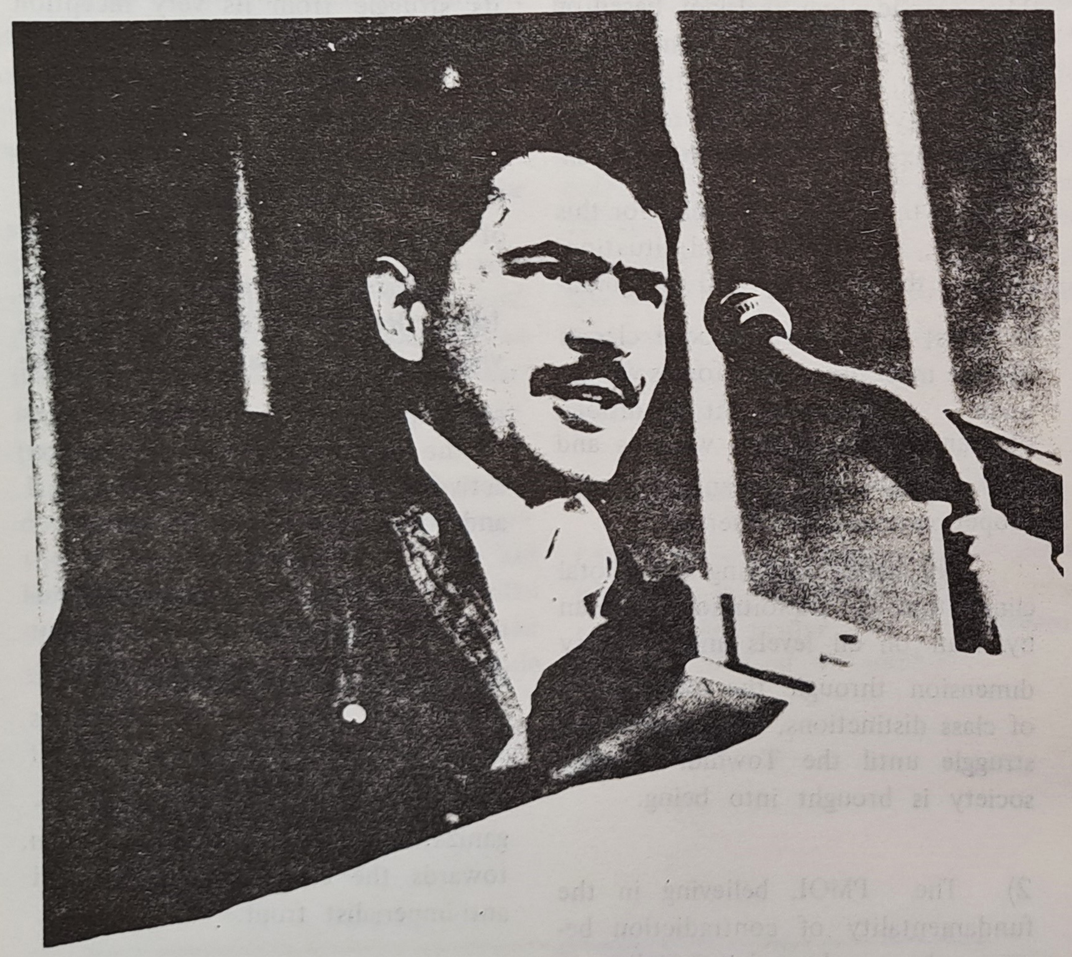
* * * * * * * * *

From the time of the glorious uprising of 22 Bahman 1357 (11 February 1979), the PMOI has succeeded in:

1) Drawing the ideological distinction between itself and other forces operating under the name of Islam, despite superficially mutual appearances, and raising its demarcations to politico-strategic levels.

2) Discharging its revolutionary responsibilities in the heat of the arena of Iranian social action, without being involved in the ruling system.

3) Developing in active link with all progressive and revolutionary sectors and forces of the people within the context of the campaign platform (in the Iranian presidential election) of Mojahed Brother Mas'ud Rajavi, establishing itself as the fulcrum of the revolutionary forces, in the face of all the pressures brought to bear by the reaction.



Mojahed Brother Mas'ud Rajavi

A Report on PMOI Activities

1975-78

Effects of the Opportunist Crisis from 1975 to the Present

"الذین اخرجوا من دیارهم بغیر حق الا ان یقولوا ربنا الله ولولا دفع الله الناس بعضهم ببعض لهدمت صوامع و بیع و صلوات و مساجد یذکر فیها اسم الله کثیرا ولینصرن الله ان الله قوی عزیز."

"Those who have been unjustly driven out of their land (and deprived of their birthright) (and are without blame), need but declare, "Our Lord is God". (that "Allah" is their rallying cry, their slogan), for He does not intend that one class or social group should be replaced by another. Truly if He did so, all the churches, temples, places where human values are fostered, mosques, where (the perfecting towards) God is better remembered (places where every movement against oppression must begin), would be destroyed. He aids all who strive with Him (in His Way). Indeed, God is power and might.

(Qoran, Surah: Hajj: Verse 40)

In the Name of God
and
in the Name of the Heroic People of Iran

With the profoundest revolutionary respect for the thousands of martyrs who shed their blood to overthrow one of the most powerful dictatorships in history, shook the hold of imperialism, zionism and reaction in the region, and have given us the opportunity, after years of darkness, on the threshold of the new year, (equivalent of 21 March on the Persian calendar), to congratulate our heroic people for their shining triumphs at the anti-dictatorial stage of the long road of revolution

It is a high honor for the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran to have been, through the black years of dictatorship, repression and silence, one of the embodiments of objective consciousness, rage and revolt of our oppressed people against imperialism and its domestic mercenaries, and to have borne the revolutionary banner of a great people.

The bloody events of recent years, most particularly this year of which the final hours are passing, with the defiant and wrathful stand taken by the people against their foes, have proven one point, namely, that the battle of our brothers on field of fire and blood and their courageous resistance under torture by the minions of the shah's regime

was the reflection of the raging fury of the people and representation of the factual reality of the situation in our country.

Thus, the politico-military struggle of the PMOI must be seen as the most logical and fundamental expression of the people's response to its enemies. These struggles have shown that the strategic position taken by the PMOI and the stand against **imperialism, dictatorship and the bourgeoisie comprador**, agreed on at the outset of the organization's phase of preliminary operations was an objective reflection of the most fundamental aspirations of the people.

Ever since, its establishment in 1965 by the martyred Mojaheds Mohammad Hanif-Nezhad, Sa'id Mohsen and Ali-asghar Badi'zadegan, through all the vicissitudes it has undergone, the PMOI has striven to hold firm to its doctrinal principles and its, TOWHIDI ideals, to keep the faith with the defiant people in whose bosom it was nourished, and to persevere in its struggle in the way of evolving society towards a TOWHIDI (Divinely Unified), classless system.

Four years have passed since the incident of the pseudo-leftist (opportunist) deviation. Up to now we have not considered it appropriate to bring up this issue before our proud people, openly from the **PMOI's point of view**, for the following reasons:

1- While the entire instructional, military, communications and supporter-link potential had been shattered by the opportunist incident, we continued to receive blows to our military and organizational structure right up to the early part of 1977, in working out the opportunist problem.

Not only were several of our finest brothers martyred, but our organization came close to disintegrating on at least two occasions. However, as severe as these blows were, they could never divert our attention from the fundamental conflict existing in our society nor force us to adopt unrevolutionary methods. Thus, despite the heavy and persistent beating which was inflicted on us, we never wavered from our revolutionary principles by turning to an approach of open confrontation, but proceeded against the opportunist pressure in a purely politic manner, exposing and isolating the opportunist threat in a cautious step-by-step process, until our efforts were finally crowned with victory on both the political and the organizational fronts.

"ام حسب الذين يعملون السيئات
ان يسبقونا ساء ما يحكمون "

"Do, those who engage, in bad actions (use wrong means) think they can advance past us (aside from Our Way)? What misjudgment they make!" (Qoran, Verse 29:4)

2- The politico-ideological assault of the rightwing reactionary, "Anti-Mojahed' element, designed to undermine the values of the PMOI, barely stopped short of compromising with the shah's regime, bringing every kind of offensive and slanderous political and ideological reference to bear, and worked to cloud the issue of the presence of the fundamental conflict in our society, while taking refuge behind the barricade of 'defending

Islam, to launch actions which in their very nature were detrimental to the Mojahedin, and all who supported the true Islamic cause.

Nevertheless, in order not to allow the conflict present amongst the people to grow too active and to deny the enemy any opportunity to take advantage of any internal conflicts, the PMOI refrained from any kind of open demonstration against the rightwing element. Of course, this tactical approach by no means meant a departure from our ideological principles; on the contrary, we adopted this tactical course precisely for the purpose of consolidating our forces to present a solid front against the dictatorial regime.

By this approach, we also managed to accent the distinction between the true Islam and the false, syncretistic pretense of Islam. "And try the believers (on the way of difficulties) through ordeals with a good end (which promote growth)"

3- Repairing the damage done to our organization and rebuilding its structure (the most pressing need), as well as re-establishing the instructional program and strengthening the ideological unity of the PMOI to a new high level of integration embracing the strategic and structural aspects of the organization in one overall unified and consistent expression, a process which required time. We intend to share the theoretical benefit of our experience with our heroic people at the earliest possible opportunity.

4- Promotion of the democratic movement: Given the internal conflicts within the ruling regime, expressed variously in its dictatorial and, liberal aspects, the PMOI deemed it inappropriate to use its name openly in the struggle to weaken the dictatorship, particularly since the dictatorship's own policy was to exploit the presence of armed revolutionary groups in the society as a pretext for a more extensive drubbing of the people. With this in mind, the PMOI policy was structured in such a way as to keep the organization's activities clandestine while working to strengthen the radical wing of the movement.

5- Finally, the process of reintegrating our brothers newly released from prison has been a preoccupation taking first priority up to the present.

However, throughout this period the PMOI has, with the utmost of its limited resources, sought to utilize the most appropriate tactics in dealing the most effective blows against the dictatorial regime and deploy its military muscle, when required as a protective umbrella for the democratic movement. The organization was active, directly and through indirect influence in mobilizing, organizing and shaping the slogans of the democratic struggle, a struggle which, fortunately, was experiencing a daily surging upward, until finally, last month, our people, raising the cry of revolution, bore the banner of struggle against dictatorship and imperialism to new and glorious heights, when with armed fury they toppled so many of the pillars of the regime's military might.

Our Mojahed brothers, as drops in that raging sea of the heroic people, performed their duties in that grand battle, a service which will be reflected in detail, in a report on their

actions, to be shared with our valiant people at a later time. Without question, the political power of the Pahlavi regime has been shattered and scutled into the ashcan of history, while the remaining institutions of Imperialism have been shaken, although by no means rooted out. The latter continue to seek to revive themselves. If they are not met head-on and with full awareness with the energy which the movement possesses at present, objectively powerful enough to demolish the bastions of imperialism, the instruments of imperialism will have the opportunity to survey the ground and gather their forces for another bid for power.

We are now more determined than ever and vividly conscious of our solemn pact with God and our people have to struggle on until we have eradicated every vestige of imperialist domination in our society-economic and social, military and police – so that a TOWHIDI classless society may be realized, to fight on until every aggressive element has been removed and, in the words of the Qoran, "Until war has laid down its burdens."

At this time we draw the attention of our fellow countrymen in the struggle to the following political and organizational points:

1- We must be fully aware that the struggles of our people, flushed with a stirring triumphs as they are, have not reached their end. There still lies a long and arduous road ahead towards the ultimate and complete eradication of imperialism's domination. It is true that we have dealt severe blows to the bureaucratic establishment and the enemy's militaro-police system, but the danger of a wounded imperialism and the remains of the enemy bureaucratic, military and police system still lurks. Its economic and social institutions still remain, undisturberd. It will require a long, hard social struggle to root out every clinging a remnant of economic and social imperialism. The slightest hesitation or laxity in this effort is an unparadonable sin, for the elements of imperialism will take every opportunity to gain a foothold towards re-establishing total domination. So we must exercise all possible control in not permitting the enemy to reorganize and regain its militaro-police base of power. For this reason we declare in no uncertain terms, that through the experience of action and encounter which the PMOI has developed, we can testify that the military and police networks are being secretly re-formed.

We draw the attention of the government and all progressive forces to this fact.

2- While being occupied with the integration of the views of the newly released Mojahed brothers, the PMOI has taken it upon itself to present its political struggle with its tactic of disclosure of facts in the context of the deviation problem and the unremitting efforts to preserve the ideological heritage of the organization and the promotion of its appreciation in prison. The organization has purged certain elements from its ranks, and made it clear that these expellees have no right to speak in the name of the People's Mojahedin of Iran, nor to claim to espouse the views of the Mojahedin. We have documentation of how these elements have misappropriated the principles of the PMOI, tempered with them, even made fundamental changes. We alert our countrymen to this deceitful and opportunistic activity, which we vigorously condemn. At this time, we would like to cite the numbers of valiant members of the PMOI (not to speak of the organization's supporters) who have been martyred between 1975 and the present at the hands of the Pahlavi regime and the opportunists and in the course of missions detailed by the organization.

We must note, in this respect, there are a number of members around whose actions there were compromising circumstances. Though they have given their lives, the organization must study the nature of their activity before determining whether they can be included in the poster of martyrs. The aura of compromise surrounding them may have been due to lack of awareness, due either to the engagement of the PMOI in the opportunist problem or to the communications gap because of the state of police repression in the regime. After completing our study, we plan to release a complete poster of the martyrs of the PMOI in the future.

Immortal be the memory of the martyrs who shed their blood for the people of Iran.

Honored be the memory of the martyrs of the organization of the Mojahedin.

May every trace of imperialism be obliterated.

May the flag of TOWHIDI revolution fly ever lofty.

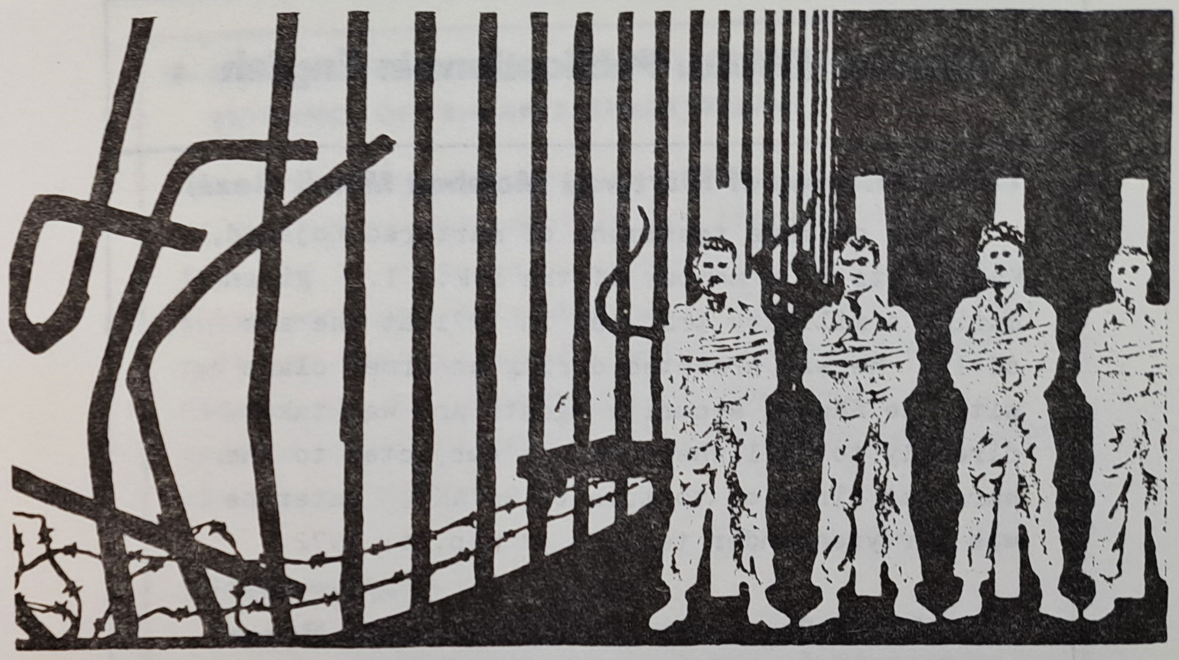
Political-Military Statement No. 21

The People's Mojahedin of Iran.

Date: 17 March 1979

The present list of martyrs since spring of 1975

Name	Date of martyrdom	Manner of martyrdom
1. Kazem Zolanvar	18 April 1975	Firing Squad
2. Mostafa Khoshdel	18 April 1975	Firing Squad
3- Majid Sharif-Vaqefi	6 May 1975	Martyred at the hands of the opportunists
4. Fatemeh Amini	24 July 1975	Under torture
5. Hossein Khermanshahi-Asl	May 1975	Under torture
6. Morteza Samadieh-labbaf	23 January 1976	Firing Squad
7. Morteza Labbafi-nezhad	23 January 1976	Firing squad
8. Abdol-reza Moniri-javid	23 January 1976	Firing squad
9. Ali Mohebbi	21 February 1976	In action
10. Farhad Safa	23 February 1976	In action
11. Mohammad Safari-Langerudi	September 1976	Firing Squad
12. Ali-Reza Olfat	October 1976	In action
13. Mohammad-Reza Bab-Ahmadi	24 October 1976	In action
14- Mohammad-Hasan Ebrari	5 December 1976	Firing Squad
15- Behjat Tiftakchi	9 December 1976	In action
16. Mohammad Yaqini	1979	Martyred at the hands of the opportunists
17. A brother called "Parviz"	1976	Manner of martyrdom still unknown
18. Mohammad-Ali Mahdavi	1977	Under torture



19. Jalal Hodoshi	25 December 1977	Executing mission
20. Mohammad Olfat	December 1977	In action
21. Hasan Rowshan-panah	29 January 1977	In action
22. Mohammad-Hassan Nasri-ogli Khiabani	5 February 1978	Executing Mission
23- Mohammad Rahnema'i Sabzevari	5 February 1978	Executing Mission
24. Mohammad- Reza Tolu-Sharifi	February 1978	Executing Missions
25. Zahra Gudarzi	1978	Manner of martyrdom still unknown.

Current P.M.O.I. Publications in English

1. The Defenses of Martyred Mojahed Mehdi Rezái.

The defense testimony of martyred Mojahed, Mehdi Reza'i, a member of the P.M.O.I., given during a military tribunal in 1971 at the age of 19. He was arrested during an armed clash with the Shah's security agents and was taken directly to jail, where he was subjected to the harshest kinds of torture by SAVAK. Later he was martyred under torture on Sep. 6, 1972.

$1.50

2. P.M.O.I. Statement in Response to the Recent Accusations of The Iranian Regime.

A highly readable ideological statement in response to the accusations of SAVAK and the Shah's regime against the Islamic ideology and revolutionary viewpoints of the P.M.C.I.

$1.00

3. The Last Defence of Martyred Mojahed Ali Mihandust.

A brief sketch of the life and the last text of defense of martyred Mojahed, Ali Mihandust member of the leadership cadre of the P.M.C.I., given during a Shah's military tribunal in 1972. He was arrested during the SAVAK's massive sweep against the Mojahedin in September 1971. The prison interrogators tortured him brutally several times to force him to reveal the contact points and hideouts of his comrades. He refused to submit, dauntlessly defending the aims and ideology of the P.M.O.I. in the military court of injustice. Sentenced to firing squad, he died a martyr at dawn on April 19, 1972.

$1.00

4- CITIES IN THE CLUTCHES OF IMPERIALISM--ROOTS AND EXISTENCE OF TEHRAN'S SHANTYTOWNS.

this pamphlet contains and indepth analysis of the U.S. involvement in the Iranian society, focusing in on the dark corners of the cities and their neglected neighbhrhoods. This pamphlet refl reflects the experiences gained and observations made by the PMOI's members and sympathizers in various urban neighborhoods and through association with urban toilers.

5- HOW TO STUDY THE QORAN?

Guidelines to the study of the Qoran with an interpretation from the standpint of the Mojahedin. This book is an introduction to the ideological approach to the Qoran which is fundamental to the PMOI's revolutionary approach. The study to whether the Qoran, or any other scripture is merely a documet for reading which is supplementary to living, or whether the Qoran can be a dynamic living force in the evolutionary and revolutionary approach to the lives of men and women.

"The key to our victory lies in the preservation of our perpetual political and organizational unity, through the attainment of the following three conditions: a) organizational unity, b) strategic unity, and c) ideological unity."

– Martyred Mojahed Mohammad
Hanif-nezhaad, co-founder of the PMOI

"Harsh conditions demand precise demarcations between the movement and the counter-movement. The establishment of the lines of demarcation between movement and counter-movement, revolution and counter-revolution, is in itself a causal factor in the evolution of the struggle, for it is only on this basis that no leeway lies open for opportunism and compromise to linger."

– Martyred Mojahed Sa'id Mohsen,
co-founder of the PMOI

"The worth of an individual is measured in the extent of what he is willing to sacrifice in the struggle. How can you call someone who has not given up anything, a 'struggler'?"

– Martyred Mojahed 'Ali-asghar Badi'zaadegaan,
co-founder of the PMOI

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THE HISTORY OF THE PMOI